101 /3 cont./
limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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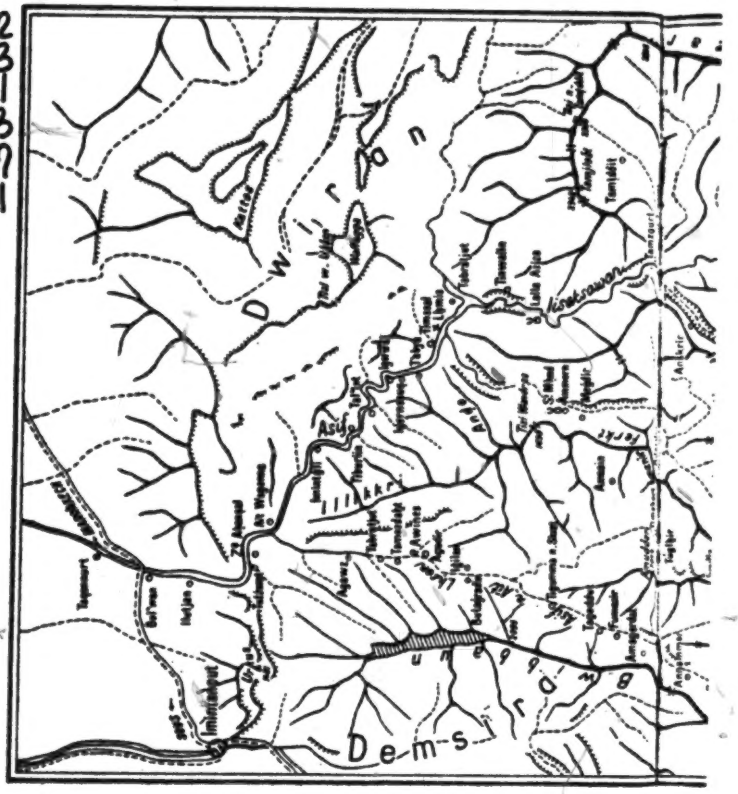

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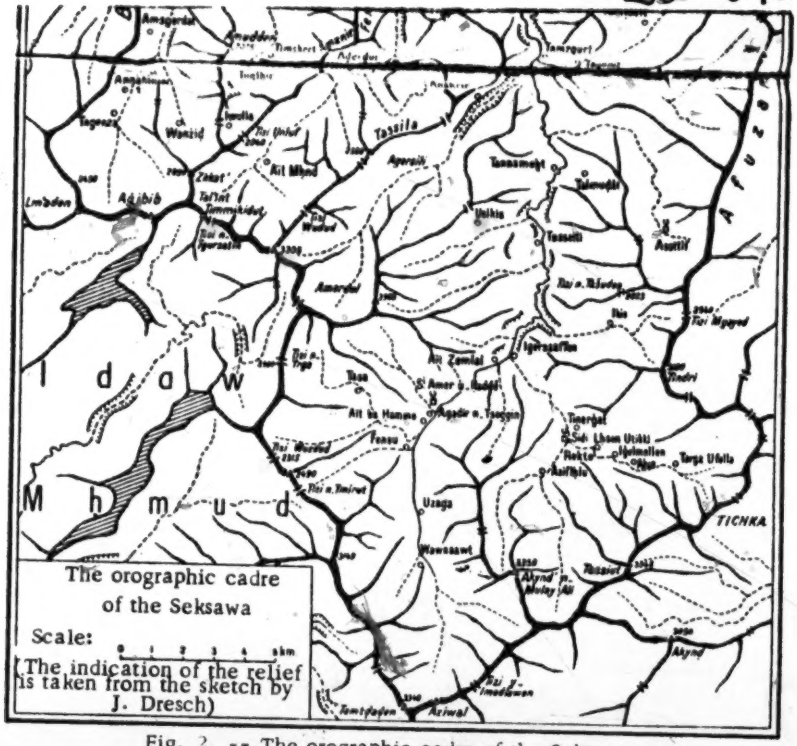

Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

19/

1: Berque--16 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

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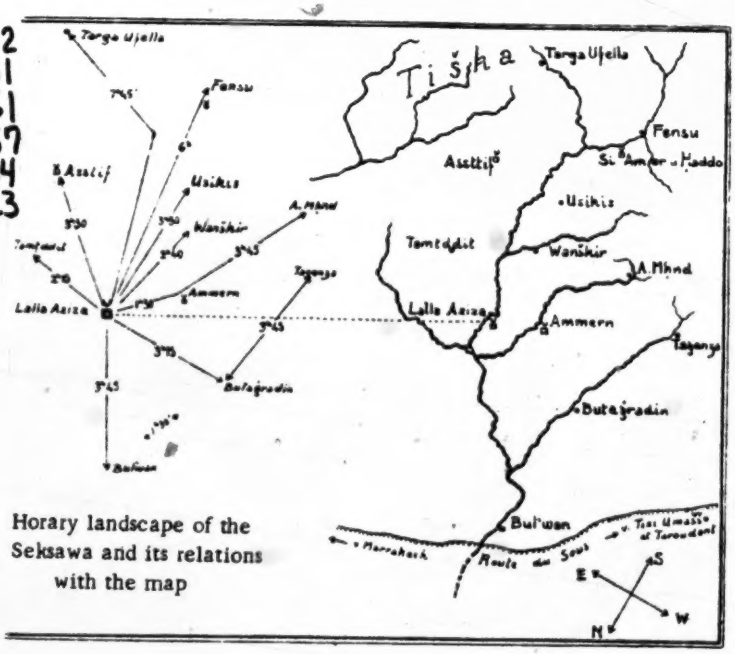

Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other. at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at A.l'erd'ur, Wanch-krir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
● [361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
[233] by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

181 /28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361
342
113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," lbyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/31 cont./

342 184 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basically only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

621

355 414 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand permits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

(171)

The Bourgs

• 361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," lmud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from 621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol- 361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaɬs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'ah'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word imud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague- 621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po- 634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat. 613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

193 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
361 foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
619 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'at, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 • 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [132] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
10 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
133 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic morest from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
[795] erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
634 agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
619 the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[196] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[198] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geo-
101 logical nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
634 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombé with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
●361 Like Bul^{c}wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talfint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talfint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
193 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
195
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of
[103] a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] [613] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 [795] [796] At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, redoubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 721 619 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that [175] [923] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

• 361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

621 Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
619 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
613 193 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gfir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli.	These are the only two conquering branches.
a. Wakrim.	Iseqqalen from Usikis.	

1: Berque--117 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/83 cont./

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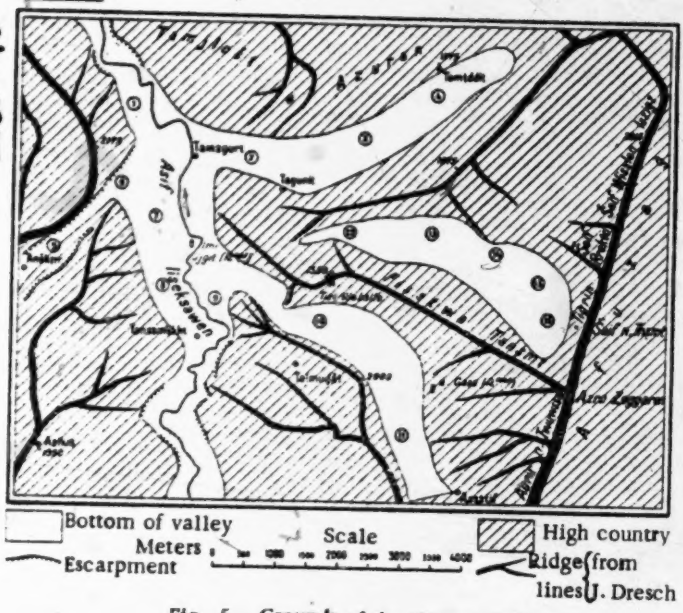

Fig. 5 - Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. —
4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. —
8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. —
11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. —
14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gfer. — 16. Tkerni.

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of [361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ǎjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ǎjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

[539] The documents of istirᶜǎ', "ritual protestation" against monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gǎr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

/103 cont./

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[171]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

171

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

[361]

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
221 form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
[262] deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

133 (361) [613]

General Characteristics of the Population

634 613 312 [173] It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, igʷmi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tighʷmrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrarʷ-Waman, Naßtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.

• [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, aḍer, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

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/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

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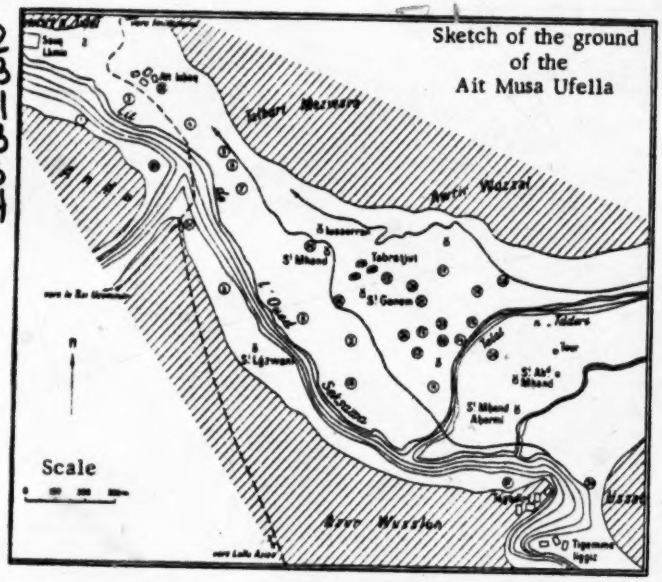

Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebf^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzŭyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

1: Berque--644 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa]

Pl. I

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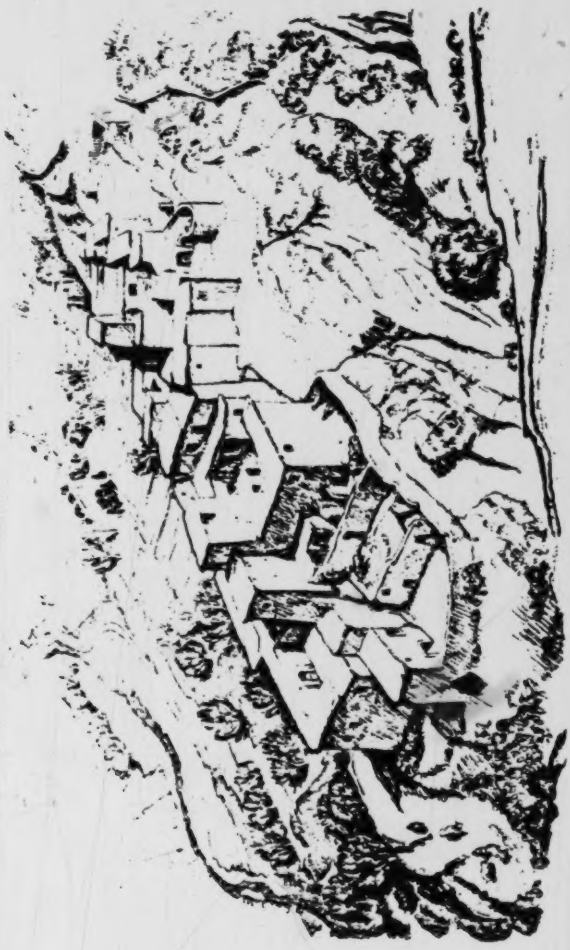

Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers

J. BERQUE

Pl. III

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/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

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Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

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Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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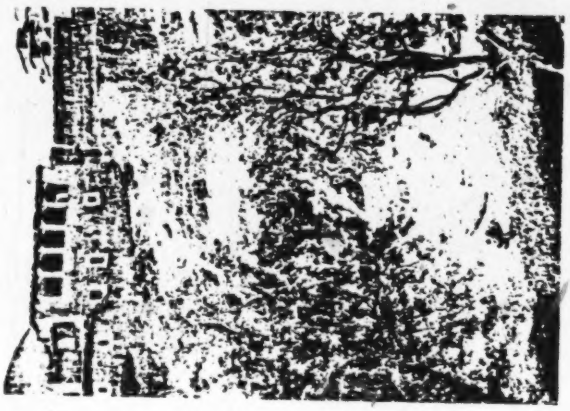

The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

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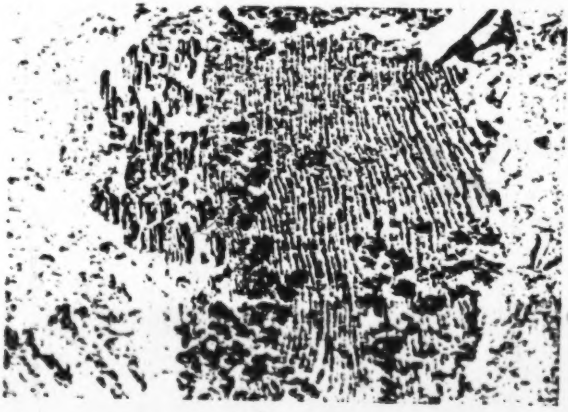

Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

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(J. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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(J. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are [592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
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241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

1: Berque--658 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. XI

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Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

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Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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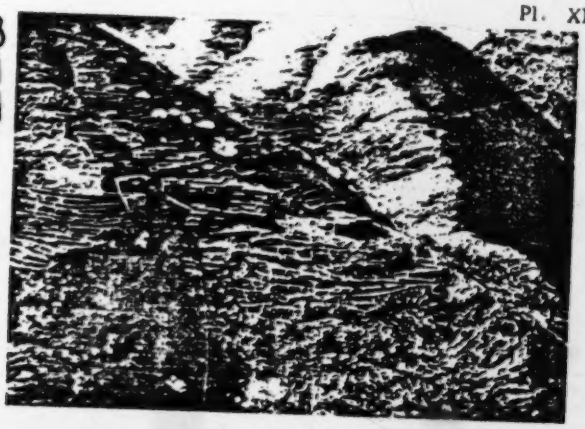

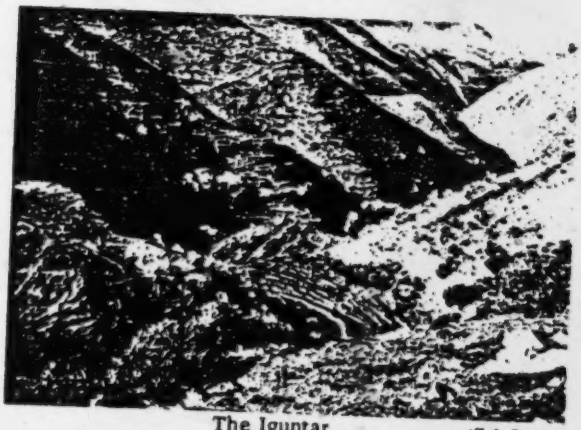

The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the [192] village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid [712] Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of [343] life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, [487] at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[For information on the locations and construction of casbahs (fortresses), see category 712.]

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
133 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
241 desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
[137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards. Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./
133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
437 tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
484 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aît ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
•361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aît Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
311 merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
241 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/16 cont./

133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

[233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In * [634] [578] [437] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

• 361 628 [487] [438] On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

491 /17 cont./
184 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.

[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
• 361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
648 from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Maᶜcho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
• [361] the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desolation. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the • 361 133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the [137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost absent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and [312] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, [241] burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that 167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to- 619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the 103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean
[501] beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Several natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 438 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the 133 -361 [226] Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 361 648 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain [439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the 175 177 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much attention to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took
648 place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long
177 waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the
182 beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mus-
•361 sulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/37 cont./

632 162 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amismiz [361] [443] /Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/38 cont./
000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

[113]

1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

.361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of several distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

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361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

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/39 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Aït Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

•361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous. [162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 *631 619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, [361] [131] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./

*631 619 [361] [131] Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of [198] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus [648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
•[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/150 cont./

121 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of
128 the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

• [361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
[632] in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[621] they were "khoms" or "rbaᶜ," fractions of tribes having the same size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "moudaᶜ" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
•361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Maᶜcho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/186 cont./

*634 "Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of
616 equilibrium (1).
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1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

*634 As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or
616 the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Aït Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578]

1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hesperis, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

623 Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
627 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
681 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
625 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses, the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

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*634

619

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
•[361] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
•361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

621 /234 cont./
632 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
*634 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
796 nocturnal dances (2).
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their
[361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/259 cont./

343 178 184 •361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Imaᶜizen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ᶜAli), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Belaᶜid).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIᵉ siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 •361 *[631] [342] [712] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Alt ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 [726] But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Alt Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, the Alt Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 361 343 712 [726] them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows. Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecognizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

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/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
• [361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, [431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

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3: Dupas--2 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101
161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000.
197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects:
101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged
• 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth
342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified
343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Reguibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

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• 361 two are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, and the last completely nomadic. The Arabic-speaking Oulad Jellal are completely nomadic. Some of the nomadic tribes, the Ida Oublal in particular, migrate great distances into the Sahara (Capot-Rey, 1942; Cauneille, 1950; Delaye, 1944; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 143-161; Flores Morales, 1946, pp. 87-111; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 171-175; Jannes, 1953, pp. 109-116; Joly, 1948a, pp. 90-96; 1948b; Madras, 1948, illust. between pp. 25-61; Montagne, 1930; Monteil, 1948; 1948b; Robichez, 1946, pp. 53-71; Thibert, 1948).

2. *Imazighen or Beraber*

000 The Berabers, numbering approximately 500,000, reside principally in the mountains of Central Morocco – the eastern High Atlas, their southern slopes, and the Middle Atlas. All speak the Taberberit dialect of Tamazight, while Arabic is a common second tongue among the southern pre-Saharan groups (Grandidier, 1934, Pl. 6; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 163-167).

The dominant feature of Beraber life is transhumance – a type of pastorialism characterized by the movement of livestock through successive seasonal pasturage. Unlike the sedentary Shluh, who must modify their agricultural base to make it conform to the requirements of a specific local environment, the Beraber turn the environmental differences of their country to their benefit, wintering their flocks or herds in the warm plains or steppes, moving them to the higher pastures in the mountains during the spring and summer, and retiring through new pasturage ahead of the descending snowline (Celerier, 1927, pp. 53-58; Joly, et al, 1949, pp. 83, 84-86).

Beraber transhumance has been classified into three distinct types – winter transhumance, summer transhumance, and double transhumance. The type practised by any particular tribe depends largely upon the location of its permanent residence. Winter transhumants own permanent houses (*taddart*) and collective granaries (*ighrem* or *tighremt*) which are located in the mountains, and most of the members therefore migrate with the herds to the winter pastures in the valley. Parts of the Ait Yafelmane confederation (428-

[pp. 27-43 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562]
out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] •
in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described •••

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]